

APPENDICES

Kuomintang Government the possibility of independent agitation among the masses of workers and peasants and among the soldiers of the nations. army and their organisations. At that time the Party possessed greater possibilities than it actually made use of.

At that time the Party did not sufficiently clearly explain to the proletarian class position in distinction from Sun Yatsecism and petty bourgeois tendencies. In the ranks of the Kuomintang the Communists did not conduct any independent policy, leaving out of account in any such inevitable bloc the Communists must adopt an

critical attitude towards the bourgeois elements and always come out as independent force. The Communists failed to expose the vacillation? the national-bourgeoisie and of bourgeois-democratic nationalism, at the time when this exposure ought to have constituted one of the important tasks of the Communist Party. The inevitable disruption of Kuomintang drew nearer and nearer as the national army advanced, but the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party undertook nothing or almost nothing in order to prepare the Party in case of a breach, and in order to guarantee its independent position and to unite the workers and peasants in an independent fighting bloc which would oppose itself to the leadership of the Kuomintang.

Thus, the bourgeois-counter-revolutionary coup of Chang Kai-shek found the revolutionary proletariat completely unprepared and threw its ranks into confusion. Further, the leadership of the Communist Party at that time badly understood the process of the development of the from one stage to another and did not carry through the correct changes in the line of the Party made necessary by this coup. In as much as the Left Wing of the petty bourgeois leaders of the Kuomintang during the course of a certain time still went together with the Communist Party, there took place a territorial separation; there arose the separate governments of Nanking and Wuhan. But the Communist Party did not occupy a leading position even in Wuhan.

Very quickly, in the Wuhan territory there commenced a second period,

characterised, among other things, on the one hand, by the presence of elements of an incipient, still indefinite dual power ^the seizure by peasant unions of a number of ruling functions in the villages, and the extension of the functions of the trade unions, determined by the endeavour of the masses to reach a "plebeian"* independent solution of the questions of power), and, on the other hand, by the absence of sufficiently mature conditions for the organisation of Soviets as organs of revolt against the Wuhan government, in so far as the latter still carried on a revolutionary struggle against the Nanking government which represented the treachery of the bourgeoisie to the revolution.

The Communist Party at that time directly hindered the independent actions of the revolutionary masses; it did not facilitate their task of gathering